

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6109
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 02505

EXDIS
USCTB

PASS TO DOE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PARM US UK UR
SUBJECT: CTB NEGOTIATIONS: UK PLENARY STATEMENT, FEB. 16

CTB MESSAGE NO. 144

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF UK STATEMENT DELIVERED AT PLENARY
MEETING OF FEBRUARY 16. BEGIN TEXT:

IN HIS STATEMENT ON 13 FEBRUARY, DR. MOROKHOV STRESSED
THAT INTERNAL SEISMIC INSTALLATIONS SHOULD HAVE ONLY AN
AUXILIARY ROLE IN VERIFYING TREATY COMPLIANCE. BUT HE
CONFIRMED THE WILLINGNESS OF THE SOVIET UNION TO TREAT
WITH UNDERSTANDING THE PROPOSAL THAT THE SEPARATE AGREE-
MENT SHOULD MAKE PROVISION FOR THESE INSTALLATIONS. WE
SHARE THE VIEW THAT INTERNAL SEISMIC INSTALLATIONS SHOULD
SERVE AS A MEANS OF SUPPLEMENTING THE DATA THAT CAN BE
ACQUIRED BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS AND BY THE INTER-
NATIONAL GLOBAL SEISMIC NETWORK. BUT, IN SO DOING, WE

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DO NOT UNDER-RATE THEIR IMPORTANCE. ON THE CONTRARY WE
REGARD SUCH INSTALLATIONS AS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN THE
TOTAL TECHNICAL VERIFICATION ARRANGEMENTS NEEDED TO
ENSURE CONFIDENCE IN TREATY COMPLIANCE.

IN MY DELEGATION'S VIEW WE WILL NEED TO REACH AGREE-
MENT ON THE PERFORMANCE AND RELIABILITY REQUIRED FROM

INTERNAL SEISMIC INSTALLATIONS, IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY CONTRIBUTE TO THE OVERALL TECHNICAL TASK OF VERIFYING COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN. WE SHALL ALSO NEED TO SPECIFY THE TECHNICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THESE INSTALLATIONS SO THAT IN TIME THEY ACHIEVE AN AGREED PERFORMANCE LEVEL. WE CERTAINLY HAVE NO INTENTION OF CALLING FOR A DESIGN OF INTERNAL SEISMIC STATIONS WHICH WOULD HAVE A CAPABILITY BEYOND WHAT IS NEEDED FOR ENSURING CONFIDENCE IN TREATY COMPLIANCE. OUR AIM IS SOLELY TO SATISFY REQUIREMENTS DIRECTLY RELEVANT TO THE VERIFICATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY.

AS THE UK DELEGATION SEES IT, THE PRESENTATIONS BY THE US DELEGATION IN THE TECHNICAL WORKING GROUP HAVE BEEN SETTING THE SCENE FOR THE TYPE OF DETAILED DISCUSSIONS WE NEED TO HAVE. THEY HAVE BEEN GIVING A GENERAL PICTURE OF THEIR CONCEPT OF AN INTERNAL SEISMIC INSTALLATION, SO THAT THEIR NEGOTIATING PARTNERS MAY UNDERSTAND THE PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SETTING UP AN INSTALLATION. MY DELEGATION HAS FOUND THIS VALUABLE AND INSTRUCTIVE. IN MAKING THEIR PRESENTATIONS, THE US DELEGATION HAVE INDICATED SOME CHARACTERISTICS WHICH SEEM TO THEM TO BE DESIRABLE. BUT WE REGARD THESE AS IN NO WAY INTENDED TO PRECLUDE FULL AND FREE TRIPARTITE DISCUSSION. INDEED, THE US DELEGATION HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WOULD

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WELCOME DETAILED COOPERATIVE WORK AND WE LOOK FORWARD TO SHARING IN IT.

THE SECOND HALF OF DR. MOROKHOV'S STATEMENT OF 13 FEBRUARY WAS DEVOTED TO PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS. IT MAY BE USEFUL IF I SUMMARISE TODAY THE MAIN POINTS I MADE IN MY PRELIMINARY COMMENTS. I SHALL ALSO ADD SOME FURTHER COMMENTS IN THE LIGHT OF MY DELEGATION'S THOROUGH STUDY OF THE TEXT OF THE SOVIET STATEMENT.

I WOULD REPEAT THESE POINTS:

FIRST, THERE IS NO MISUNDERSTANDING ON THE PART OF THE UK OF THE ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE ATTACHED BY THE SOVIET UNION TO PNE.

SECOND, WE RECOGNISE THAT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A MORATORIUM ON PNE WILL ENTAIL SOME REVISION OF SOVIET PLANS, AND I NOTE DR. MOROKHOV'S STATEMENT THAT THIS WILL BE DONE AT SOME COST.

BUT THIRD, THE SOVIET UNION IS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN

THE WORLD AT PRESENT MAKING ANY USE OF PNE. ALL OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE TO DEAL WITH THE INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS, EMERGENCIES AND NATURAL DISASTERS LISTED IN THE SOVIET STATEMENT BY CONVENTIONAL MEANS.

FOURTH, WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY CERTAIN SPECIFIC POINTS IN THE SOVIET STATEMENT. THESE ARE, AND HERE I AM ADDING TO MY PRELIMINARY COMMENTS ON 13 FEBRUARY:

--"WE MUST ALL WORK ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT AGREEMENT MUST BE BASED ON THE NECESSITY OF TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES."

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--"FUTURE ARRANGEMENTS FOR CARRYING OUT PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS... MUST BE BASED ON THE NECESSITY OF EXCLUDING ANY MILITARY BENEFIT FROM CARRYING OUT SUCH EXPLOSIONS."

--"THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT PROPOSING A SPECIFIC SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS IN THE FUTURE, BUT WE DO NOT AGREE THAT A NEGATIVE SOLUTION TO THIS QUESTION SHOULD BE PRE-DETERMINED."

--"WE UNDERSTAND THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SITUATION TO WHICH OUR PARTNERS REFERRED, IN WHICH THE BAN ON NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS WOULD REMAIN BUT PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS COULD

BE RESUMED IN THE ABSENCE OF AGREEMENT ON ARRANGEMENTS
FOR THEIR CONDUCT."

FIFTH, WE THANK THE SOVIET DELEGATION FOR PRESENTING
A ROUGH DRAFT OF THE PROTOCOL COVERING PNE. BUT MY DELE-
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GATION DOES NOT BELIEVE WE CAN MAKE MUCH PROGRESS ON
DRAFTING THIS PROTOCOL UNTIL WE HAVE FACED UP TO ONE VERY
SERIOUS QUESTION HERE WHICH AMBASSADOR WARNKE STRESSED
IN HIS PRELIMINARY COMMENTS ON 13 FEBRUARY. THE SOVIET
STATEMENT SAYS:

--"THE SOVIET UNION CONSIDERS UNACCEPTABLE THE ESTAB-
LISHMENT OF ANY KIND OF BAN ON NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS FOR
PEACEFUL PURPOSES FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME."

THE KEY PHRASE THERE IS "INDEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME".
THE UK POSITION IS THAT WE CANNOT ACCEPT THAT A BAN ON
PNE SHOULD COME TO AN END ON A PRE-DETERMINED DATE,
REGARDLESS OF WHETHER THE PARTIES HAVE BEEN ABLE TO
REACH AGREEMENT ON A REGIME FOR THE CONDUCT OF PNE WHICH
GUARANTEES THAT NO ONE WILL DERIVE MILITARY BENEFIT FROM
THEM. AS I SAID ON 13 FEBRUARY, WE HAVE THEREFORE GOT
TO FIND A WAY FIRST OF NOT PRE-JUDGING THE RESULT OF OUR
CONSIDERATION OF A POSSIBLE PNE REGIME, SECOND OF NOT
PRE-JUDGING THE DATE WHEN THAT CONSIDERATION WILL BE
CONCLUDED. TO PUT IT MORE VIVIDLY, WE CANNOT NAME A DATE
WHEN A PARTY WILL BE FREE TO CONDUCT PNE, WHATEVER THE
STATE OF OUR PROCESS OF CONSIDERATION OF A POSSIBLE PNE
REGIME WHICH WOULD EFFECTIVELY ELIMINATE MILITARY
BENEFITS.

FOR THIS REASON, I WOULD AGAIN URGE THE SOVIET DELE-
GATION TO HELP US TO OPEN UP FOR DISCUSSION THE WHOLE
QUESTION OF DURATION. TO MY DELEGATION THAT SINGLE WORD
COVERS 3 VERY IMPORTANT AND CLOSELY RELATED QUESTIONS--
THE DURATION OF THE TREATY ITSELF, THE PROVISIONS FOR
WITHDRAWAL, AND THE DURATION OF THE BAN - OR MORATORIUM -
ON PNE.

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I BELIEVE THAT THE VIEWS OF BOTH THE UK AND THE US
DELEGATIONS ON THIS CENTRAL QUESTION OF DURATION ARE
VERY CLEAR TO OUR SOVIET PARTNERS. I HOPE THAT THEY WILL

VERY SOON RESPOND WITH SOME POSSIBLE NEW FORMULAE OF
THEIR OWN, SO THAT WE CAN ALL WORK HARD TO TRY TO SOLVE
THIS QUESTION. END TEXT. WARNKE

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